

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6475
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 DAR ES SALAAM 4114

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, UN, TZ

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT NYERERE'S CURRENT VIEWS ON RHODESIA

1. SUMMARY: PRESIDENT NYERERE, DEEPLY DISTURBED BY REEMERGENCY PATRIOTIC FRONT DISUNITY, HAS DECIDED THAT THERE MAY BE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO TAKE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MILITARY SITUATION OUT OF NKOMO'S AND MUGABE'S HANDS. HE NOW BELIEVES THE BEST CHANCE OF CREATING A UNIFIED ARMY FOR AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE PROBABLY LIES IN THE FRONT LINE STATES', WORKING WITH THE UK AND UN, ASSUMING DIRECT CONTROL OF THE LIBERATION FORCES. NKOMO AND MUGABE, LIKE MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE, WOULD BE LEFT TO MAKE THEIR BID FOR POWER THROUGH THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. MAY THE BEST OF THEM WIN. END SUMMARY.

2. FIFTY MINUTE DISCUSSION WITH NYERERE MORNING OCTOBER 13 AT MSASANI CONCERNTRATED ON RHODESIAN SITUATION. AFTER TOUCHING ON VARIETY OF QUESTIONS, WHAT CARVER AND CHAND COULD USEFULLY DO,

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HOW TO BEGIN TO GET AT POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, HOW DIRECTLY US SHOULD BE INVOLVED, ETC., NYERERE SAID ALL HE REALLY CARED ABOUT AT MOMENT WAS REAPPEARANCE DISUNITY WITHIN PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR THE NEW ARMY.

3. IN FRONT LINE PRESIDENT'S MEETING LAST MONTH IN MAPUTO, NYERERE SAID, HE HAD RAISED QUESTION WITH HIS COLLEAGUES OF NEED FOR

THEM TO TAKE A POSITION ON WHAT TO DO IF PATRIOTIC FRONT REFUSED TO UNITE. THE UK, US, AND UN WERE NOW POSITIVELY INVOLVED. BUT THE NATIONALIST FACTIONS REMAINED TO BE TIDIED UP OR PROVISIONS MADE TO CARRY ON WITH THE MOMENTUM FOR INDEPENDENCE IF THEY WOULD NOT. NKOMO HAD ABORTED THE DISCUSSION BY ANNOUNCING THERE WAS NO NEED TO WORRY: HE AND MUGABE WERE MEETING IN LUSAKA SHORTLY TO APPROVE A CONSTITUTION FOR A SINGLE PARTY. NYERERE ASKED THE ZANU REPRESENTATIVE IF THIS WAS TRUE AND WAS TOLD THAT IT WAS. SO HE DID NOT PRESS QUESTION. HE HAD SIMPLY SAID TO PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS THAT HE BELIEVED THEY COULD BEAT MUZOREWA IN ELECTION IF THEY UNITED, BUT THEY SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT, IF MUZOREWA BEAT THEM, HE WOULD SUPPORT MUZOREWA.

4. THEN SMITH HAD GONE TO LUSAKA. NYERERE WAS NOT ABOUT TO CRITICIZE PRESIDENT KAUNDA FOR SEEING HIM. EVERYBODY SHOULD EXPLORE EVERY POSSIBILITY. BUT, AS USUAL, MUGABE GOT SUSPICIOUS AND REFUSED TO GO TO LUSAKA. MEANWHILE, JOSHUA HAD GONE RUNNING OFF TO NEW YORK (WHICH NYERERE HAD TOLD HIM WAS UNNECESSARY). JOSHUA WOULDN'T TELEPHONE ROBERT TO EXPLAIN TO HIM THAT HE WAS NOT UP TO SOMETHING AND ROBERT WOULDN'T STOP SULKING. BOTH WERE USING PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S INNOCENT MEETING WITH SMITH AS AN EXCUSE NOT TO GET TOGETHER. IN FACT, SAID NYERERE, I'VE COME TO THINK THOSE FELLOWS NEVER REALLY BELIEVED IN UNITY AT ALL.

5. NYERERE IS NOW SENDING FOREIGN MINISTER MKAPA TO SEE PRESIDENT KAUNDA TO TRY TO WORK OUT WHAT TO DO NEXT. WITH SOME ANGER, HE
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SAID, "ALL RIGHT, IF THEY DON'T WANT TO UNITE, THAT'S THEIR BUSINESS."

IF NYERERE IS TO GO AHEAD ON BASIS HIS UNDERSTANDING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER, HE'LL HAVE TO FIND SOME OTHER WAY OF BUILDING ONE ARMY "BASED ON THE LIBERATION FORCES". THE FORCES, IN FACT, MUST NO LONGER BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF NKOMO AND MUGABE. "THEY HAVE FAILED. WE WILL TAKE OVER AND I ACCEPT THE IMPLICATIONS OF THAT."

6. IN RESPONSE TO MY QUERY AS TO JUST WHOM HE SAW AS "WE", HE SAID THE BRITISH AND THE UNITED NATIONS WITH AFRICAN AND FRONT LINE SUPPORT. TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA HAD INHERITED ARMIES FOUNDED BY OUTSIDERS. SO COULD ZIMBABWE. I ASKED IF THE TROOPS IN THE CAMPS WOULD BE RESPONSIVE. NYERERE SAID HE THOUGHT SO. IN ANY CASE THINGS COULD NOT BE WORSE THAN THEY WERE NOW. PERHAPS SIGNIFICANTLY--OR PERHAPS NOT--WHEN HE REPEATED "WE'LL RUN THEM OURSELVES," HE MENTIONED ONLY TANZANIA AND MOZAMBIQUE, NOT ZAMBIA.

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7. I ASKED WHAT WERE THE IMPLICATIONS OF WHAT HE WAS SAYING FOR THE CARVER-CHAND TEAM. NYERERE REPLIED THEY SHOULD HELP. LET THEM BEGIN TO DEVISE ARRANGEMENTS, DEFINE THE ROLE OF THE UN FORCE, AND WORK WITH "US" IN HANDLING THE LIBERATION FORCES.

8. AFTER WE HAD GONE ON TO OTHER TOPICS (SEPTELS), NYERERE RETURNED TO RHODESIAN QUESTION. HE SAID HE WANTED EMPHASIZE ALL HE WAS SAYING WAS BASED ON ASSUMPTION US, UK, AND UN WOULD CONTINUE STRONGLY MOVING FORWARD TOWARD INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. IF SO, A SINGLE UNIFIED ARMY WAS ESSENTIAL, AND RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS NOW HAD TO BE TAKEN OUT OF THE HANDS OF NKOMO AND MUGABE. THE UK HAD RESPONSIBILITY THEORETICALLY BUT REALLY IT WAS UP TO THE AFRICANS AND NYERERE WAS READY TO TRY TO ACT. IF ON THE OTHER HAND, THE PRESENT INITIATIVES WERE NOT OR COULD NOT BE FOLLOWED THROUGH, THE ONLY ANSWER WAS TO LET THE CHAOS CONTINUE.

9. NYERERE ALSO WANTED TO EMPHASIZE HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE MILITARY SITUATION. AS FAR AS THE POLITICAL SIDE WAS CONCERNED,
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THE LEADERSHIP MUST BE CHOSEN IN FREE ELECTIONS, AS PRESIDENT CARTER CONSIDERED SO IMPORTANT. NYERERE HAD HIS CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE READY FOR THE NEW LEADER. HE WAS PREPARED TO FILL IN ANYONE'S NAME ON IT. THE NEW APPROACH TO THE ARMY HE HAD IN

MIND SHOULD MAKE THE ELECTIONS EVEN FREER.

10. COMMENT: NYERERE WAS IN INTENSE BUT NOT UNUSUALLY EMOTIONAL MOOD. HE GAVE EVERY INDICATION OF BEING SERIOUS ABOUT HIS NEW DIRECTION, BUT I BELIEVE HIS THINKING IS STILL IN THE FORMATIVE STAGE AND THAT WE ARE PROBABLY THE FIRST TO WHOM HE HAS EXPOSED IT. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE POSSIBILITY OF "SECOND THOUGHTS" AND THE DESIREABILITY OF PROTECTING OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD TAKE CARE NOT TO PASS ON HIS VIEWS VERY FAR AT THIS TIME--PERHAPS EVEN TO THE BRITISH ONLY IN A LIMITED AND RESTRICTED WAY. IF NYERERE COMMITS HIMSELF TO THIS TRACT, HE WILL LET THE UK AND OTHERS KNOW SEEN ENOUGH. IF WE WANT TO TALK HIM OUT OF IT, THE FEWER PEOPLE WHO KNOW, THE BETTER. IN SUM, I BELIEVE WE SHOULD NOT RPT NOT ACT ON BASIS NYERERE'S STATEMENTS FOR AT LEAST A FEW DAYS BY WHICH TIME WE WILL KNOW IF HE REALLY INTENDS TO CARRY THROUGH.

11. AMONG UNCERTAINTIES WHICH OCCUR TO US HERE AND WHICH DEPARTMENT AND OTHERS MAY WISH TO PONDER IN MEANTIME ARE: (A) WHETHER OR NOT KAUNDA (WITH HIS PARTIALITY FOR NKOMO AND OUR LACK OF COMPLETE CONFIDENCE IN OUR KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT WENT ON DURING THE SMITH MEETING IN LUSAKA) WILL GO ALONG WITH NYERERE'S APPROACH; (B) TO WHAT DEGREE MAY NYERERE'S NEW APPROACH BE SIMPLY A "POWER GRAB" FOR HIMSELF AND TANZANIA; (C) WHETHER OR NOT NYERERE, ALONE OR WITH OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS (AND UK AND UN SUPPORT) CAN IN FACT TAKE THE FORCES AWAY FROM NKOMO AND MUGABE; (D) WHETHER OR NOT WE WANT HIM TO; AND (E) WHAT ARE IMPLICATIONS FOR WHOLE CURRENT US-UK-UN APPROACH.

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